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Paul Mosley, Emily Achieng, Maria Aurelia del Casale, Antonella Coppi, Nikki-Kate Heyes, Lee Higgins.

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Collective music-making as 'asset-based social policy': a pilot study[1]

Paul Mosley, University of Sheffield[2]

Emily Achieng, Technical University of Kenya, Nairobi

Maria Aurelia del Casale, *Musica in Crescendo,* San Salvo, Italy

Antonella Coppi, Free University of Bolzano

Nikki-Kate Heyes, SoundLincs, Lincoln

Lee Higgins, University of York St John

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Abstract: This paper examines the role of music teaching and music-making as not just a way of boosting current household well-being but as a *social asset,* i.e. as a means of boosting the capital, especially the human and social capital, of lower income groups. This idea is of particular interest to social policy globally because, having in many places moved on to an 'asset-based' footing in the 1990s and 2000s, it has more recently, and unfortunately in our view, retreated from that approach in recent times, at least in the global North. We compare here the approach of two organisations operating different models of music-making and teaching – *Sound Lincs* of Lincoln, England, which practises a community-music model, and *Musica in Crescendo* and the *Orchestra Diego Valeri* within the Italian national system of youth orchestras, which adapt a model originally derived from *El Sistema* of Venezuela. From a preliminary regression analysis, we find that participation in collective musical activities, in both institutions, has raised the aspirations of students and thereby enhanced both their individual capacities (resilience and locus of control) and their social capacities (extroversion and ability to defuse conflict). Our qualitative evidence illustrates the causal processes underlying these impacts, and in particular explores how collective music-making activities could be better focussed on low-income groups. We conclude that the idea of 'music as social asset' would be of potential benefit to both practitioners and social security systems, and discuss what policies and institutions might be able to increase the return to this asset.

JEL codes: H41, I21, I38, Z11.

Keywords: community music, aspirations, asset-based welfare, social protection.

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[2] Corresponding Author: p.mosley@sheffield.ac.uk .

1. Introduction

Both in industrialised and in developing economies, welfare systems have undergone major changes in recent decades in both the risks they face and the strategies they use to protect the vulnerable against those risks (Holzmann and Jorgensen 1999; Taylor-Gooby 2000 ; Barr 2001). One of the most significant of these changes is the introduction, especially during the 1990s and early 2000s, of 'active labour market policies' in industrialised countries which motivate the unemployed and underemployed to seek work, and sometimes to capitalise themselves by moving into self-employment, such as the US Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) of 1993[3], and in Britain, the Working (Families') Tax Credit (WFTC)[4], and New Deal (a temporary employment subsidy to encourage workers in depressed industries and regions to move into more dynamic sectors), both initiated in 1998[5]. More explicitly 'asset-based' are the Child Trust Fund (a cash grant to mothers at birth to help their children to save and thereby overcome the intra-household transmission of poverty)[6] and the Savings Gateway (a pound-for-pound subsidy to encourage low-income households to save)[7]. The sum of these fiscal initiatives, in Britain and the US, was christened by Sherraden (1991, 2005) as 'asset-based welfare'. Together, these initiatives played a major part in achieving a reduction of poverty in Britain (including child poverty) of about 35% from 1998 until the financial crash of 2008-9[8] and the ensuing general election. The coalition government of 2005 abandoned New

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[2] The Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) in the US, the predecessor of W(F)TC in Britain, was initially enacted in 1975, but then tripled by President Clinton in 1993 as an incentive to the unemployed and those in insecure employment to get work and/or stay in work rather than remain on unemployment benefit. Sykes et al (2015: 243) argue that the EITC ' lifts more children out of poverty than any other government programme' and generates social capital by 'creat[ing] feelings of social inclusion, in part by fuelling recipients' hopes and feelings for future upward mobility'.

[3] The UK Working Families' Tax Credit (now known as Working Tax Credit, and in process of being merged into Universal Credit) inspired by the American EITC, was introduced in 1999, and in particular provided much more generous support for lone parents, leading to a sharp decline in unemployment (Brewer and Browne, 2009) and a substantial increase in self-employment (Mosley and Steel, 2004) over the years 1998-2007.

[4]The UK New Deal was explicitly inspired by the US (Roosevelt) New Deals of 1932 and 1936, which pioneered the use of radical increases in public expenditure to reduce unemployment; however, it did break new ground by targeting specific areas of the economy in which unemployment was hard to reduce, such as the long-term unemployed, the under 21s, the over 65s, ethnic minorities, the disabled, etc. – on which see Brown (2008), who claims that it had a major role in cutting unemployment by a million, and cutting child poverty by half a million, during the first ten years of the Labour government between 1997 and 2007 .

[6] The Child Trust Fund was introduced by the UK Labour Party in January 2005 for children in the form of a voucher for at least £250, inspired by both Sherraden's (1991, 2005) books and by the Individual Development Accounts established by the United States government in 2000. Child trust funds could be invested in either shares or savings accounts, and parents and other family members or friends could pay into the accounts. They were abolished by chancellor George Osborne in the summer of 2010 and replaced by Junior ISAs.

[7] The Savings Gateway scheme was planned by the Labour governments of 2001-2005 to encourage low-income households to save by adding a pound to every pound deposited by households, who were required to be in receipt of working tax credit (see note 3 above). It was scrapped in October 2010 by the chancellor, George Osborne. Eventually, in 2018, it was replaced by the Conservative government's Help to Save scheme, which like Savings Gateway paid a 50% bonus on the amount saved, up to a maximum of £1200, and was confined to those receiving either working tax credit or universal credit.

[8] Poverty in Britain, defined as households receiving less than 50% of median income, is estimated to have fallen from 17% to 11% between 1998 and 2008 (source = Department of Work and Pensions, issues of *Households below Average Income* for years stated).

Deal and (for many years) the Savings Gateway, but continued with Working Tax Credit until its replacement by universal credit, which as of this writing has still not been introduced in many places. But, importantly, the idea of asset-based welfare continued to be endorsed both by the academic profession (Sherraden 1991, 2005; Ronald et al. 2017) and by non-governmental welfare and development organisations, one of which, Oxfam, enthusiastically incorporated in one of its advertisements the well-known underlying asset-based welfare, 'Give someone a fish and it will feed him for a day; teach them to fish and it will last them a lifetime'.

In the developing world, with Latin America in the lead (Hickey 2008; Barrientos and Hulme 2009; Barrientos 2014) the idea of asset-based welfare also became quite widespread and indeed now forms an important part of the welfare system, coming close to universalising, in several developing countries, the pension and asset transfer programmes typically made available previously only to senior staff of government and multinational companies in those countries. During the 1990s and 2000s, as Barrientos (2014) describes, many Latin American governments (e.g. initially Mexico, Brazil, and Chile, and later Bolivia and Ecuador) established integrated poverty reduction and asset transfer programmes (respectively *Oportunidades, Bolsa Familia, Chile Solidario, Renta Dignidad* and *Bono Juancito Pinto, Bono de Desarollo Humano*) in partnership with international financial institutions, which were often but not always conditional on children of school age in beneficiary households attending school and all household members attending primary health checks (Barrientos 2011: 121). Programmes, and asset-based conditionality, of this kind eventually spread into Ghana, Ethiopia, South Africa, Zambia and other African countries. But by contrast with the UK asset-based welfare programmes discussed above, these social initiatives were conditioned not on injections of physical or financial capital but rather of human capital – as the 'new growth theory' literature of that time was recommending (Romer 1990, Levine and Renelt 1992), basing itself on the idea that human capital, embodied in health and education programmes, was the most effective form of investment and of social protection because it impacted not only on recipients' income but also on their productivity, as in our Oxfam example, and thence on long-term economic growth. At the same time Putnam (1993) was arguing, mainly on the basis of Italian evidence, the case for social capital – value derived from involvement in social networks – to be regarded as the key factor differentiating richer from poorer countries; or, in his example, the rich northern half of Italy from the poor southern half[9]. However, for all that there is plenty of evidence supporting the idea of a statistical correlation between indicators of both human and social capital and indicators of

[9] Serra (2011:1118) argues that much social capital research makes the mistake of 'equat[ing] social capital with all the social features that enable communities to cooperate and overcome problems of collective action'. Thus, the Sicilian Mafia and the Neapolitan Camorra are social networks, but no sensible person could argue that they benefit all members in the network or are favourable to pro-poor economic development.
Also, much of the literature fails to define the sequence of causation in the selected model. For example, continuing with the Italian example, political violence and poverty are often seen, following Putnam (2003) as the consequence of a lack of social capital in the south of the country, whereas arguably they are also caused by it.

development[10], it is not the case, as we shall see, that boosting the former will reliably also boost the latter.

Mindful of these complicating factors, let us consider the evidence on the impact of welfare-based development inputs (typically cash transfers) on indicators of development and poverty. Analyses of this issue are promising although not conclusive. In a randomised control trial of six developing-country institutions in six low- and lower middle-income countries (Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Pakistan, Honduras and Peru), Banerjee et al. (2015: 15 May, p.1), conclude that 'in a wide variety of geographical contexts…it is possible to make sustainable improvements in the economic status of the poor'; and in a broader survey of 165 cash transfer programmes in 15 developing countries, some of them state-run but the majority of them run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Bastagli et al. (2019), using simple tabular methods, conclude that such transfers had 'a wide range of beneficial effects', including positive impacts on numerous indicators of well-being - poverty headcounts, health facilities, school attendance and absenteeism, and women's empowerment. Institutions which can generate human and social capital, especially within lower income groups, appear promising on this evidence; but we are still rather ignorant about what makes them 'tick'.

Amongst these institutions, we consider here the case for incorporating community music-based activities into welfare programmes. In recent years, two models of musical organisation which globally combine a welfare role with a musical training and performance role have achieved particular salience: these are the community music movement and the *El Sistema* family of choirs and orchestras.

The emphasis of *El Sistema*[11], founded in 1979 by the Venezuelan musician, and former economics minister, Gustavo Abreu (1939-2018), has been principally on teaching and performance of classical and (especially Latin American) folk musics. It has created ensembles of international standard which have been an inspiration for the best conductors in the world[12], and is more focussed on young people than the community music movement generally. Nearly all its (estimated) 1,012,077 members[13] are under 18, and it is funded mainly by the Venezuelan government with contributions from multilateral agencies. Throughout its life but especially during the presidency of Hugo Chávez from 1999 to 2013, *El Sistema* has sought to recruit members of its orchestras from the poorest urban neighbourhoods, apartment blocks and rural smallholdings and it has been cited as 'the most successful social programme achieved by Venezuela in its 51 years of democratic governance' (Garcia 2009:9).

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[10] For distinguished examples of this approach see Knack and Keefer (1997) and Whiteley (2000). For a more sceptical view illustrating how strategies of educational expansion in LDCs have latterly often gone wrong, see World Bank (2018).

[11] Formally *Sistema Nacional de las Orquestas y Coros Juveniles e Infantiles de Venezuela.*

[12] Simon Rattle, chief conductor in 2006 of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra (and now of the London Symphony Orchestra) at that time declared 'I would say in my experience there is no more important work being done anywhere in music than what is being done in Venezuela' [by the Sistema organisations] and that 'the music being played here is not only enriching lives but saving lives' (Arvelo, 2006; at 2'05" and 38' 10" into disc). For a contrary view see Baker (2014, 2017) who argues, quoting an IDB (Inter-American Development Bank) report which he does not reference, that 'El Sistema participants in the experiment were three times less likely to be poor than all six to 14-year-olds residing in the same states' (Baker 2017: 5)

[13] Figure from the Venezuelan government website (https://el sistema.org.ve),11 January 2021.

Its social objectives have been pursued not only through the provision of free musical education for all, but in recent years also by means of concerts and recitals for specific vulnerable groups – in particular blind people (the *Manos Blancas* choir), prisoners, patients in hospitals and hospices, and most recently and experimentally expectant mothers *in utero.* Abreu has always insisted that the Sistema's objectives are social as much as they are musical, and that in his words music needs to be recognised as an instrument not only of individual development but of 'socialisation and social development in the highest sense', to transmit the ultimate social values of solidarity, harmony and mutual compassion'[14], building social capital and thereby reducing conflict[15].

Venezuela of course has experienced hard times in recent years, which have impinged gravely on the operations of the *Sistema*. The country's economy has collapsed into hyperinflation, and in 2015 the showpiece orchestra's inspirational chief conductor, Gustavo Dudamel, having criticised the security crackdown imposed by President Nicolàs Maduro, was banned by him from giving overseas concerts with the apex *Orquesta Simòn Bolivar*. More recently, *Sistema* members have become involved in the widespread rioting that has engulfed the country, and many have emigrated. But the model survives, even after the death of Abreu in 2018. The *Fundaciòn Musical Simòn Bolivar* believes that its model, or adaptations of it, are in use in some 33 countries, evenly divided between industrialised and developing countries (Creech et al 2016), and in the United States alone 95 replications of *El Sistema* exist in over 30 states (Tunstall, 2012 and https://elsistemausa).

By contrast with the Sistema approach's emphasis on classical and Latin American music, the community music movement, originating in the 1930s at the time of the US New Deal (Krikum 2010; Higgins 2015) typically has its centre of gravity in rock, pop and folk music and 'music from the shows', aims to reach all ages rather than focussing on younger people, and provides musical instruction through its own purpose-built voluntary organisations rather than through the state or the private educational system. Its modes of targeting however are often similar to the approach of the Venezuelan Sistema, e.g. free or subsidised access to rehearsals, locating nuclei within depressed areas[16], providing concerts in care homes[17], and organising subsidised instrument purchase for low-income students[18].

Is the claim that collective music-making is an effective instrument of social policy a plausible one, and if so what institutional form works best where? At present, this question cannot be answered. A good number of evaluations, both of community music activities and of Sistema-type operations, do exist (e.g. US National Center for Educational Statistics (1997),

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[14] See Arvelo (2006), especially the passage beginning at 36' 10" into the disc.

[15] According to Tunstall (2012: 270), Abreu has articulated this last point as 'If you put a violin in the hands of a needy child, that child will not pick up a gun' . Many of us who are members of groups, not just musical ensembles, would support the proposition that group membership may encourage participants' sense of mutual interdependence.

[16] As practised by the Morecambe-based organisation *More Music* (see Ainsley, 2013), which has located its main office in a poor area of Morecambe.

[17] As practised by the South Yorkshire-based organisation *Lost Chord* (https://lost-chord.co.uk) and also by SoundLincs of Lincoln, discussed in this article.

[18] As organised by the founder of the *Diego Valeri* orchestra of Campolungo Maggiore, Northern Italy, discussed in this article (beppelaudani@gmail.com).

MacDonald and Miell (2000), Ainsley (2013), Deane, Holford, Hunter, and Mullen (2015), Glasgow Centre for Population Health (2015), and Creech et al. (2016); but nearly all of these are purely qualitative in nature, none of them constructs a control group or attempts a rigorous comparison of welfare indicators with and without the project, and, of greatest importance for the present argument, none of them rigorously examines the determinants of change in individual well-being indicators, let alone the impact of musical performance on poverty, inequality or other indicators of social well-being. Therefore, we do not yet have a rigorous picture of how well music can potentially serve as an instrument of social policy.

In this paper, we seek to change that state of affairs in a small-scale, experimental way. We begin from the proposition that an important purpose of much music teaching and music-making is to augment individual and social capacities – in the sense of not only the ability to perform music better but also to generate capacities which increase individual and social well-being such as resilience, creativity, taking responsibility for one's own actions, willingness to develop group activities, and ability to cope with and manage intergroup conflict. These capacities may be seen as a store of individual and social capital, and therefore as elements in a strategy which, by contrast with traditional social policies, seeks to stabilise and enhance the value of low-income households' physical and human *assets* rather than simply supplement their consumption (Sherraden 1987, 2005; Ronald, Lennarts and Kaddi 2017).[19]

In our empirical analysis, in sections 3 through 5 below, we assess the impact of different approaches to the provision of different forms of community music on these individual and social qualities. As described in the next section 2, our approach is both qualitative and quantitative, combining open-ended interviews with a more formal approach in which we attempt to model and better understand the net impact of participating in collective music-making activities.

2. Approach

One outstanding estimate of the power of music, of whatever sort, to stimulate the personal and intellectual development specifically of young people has been made by Hallam (2010). Hallam's paper explores the evidence relating to 'the impact of musical skills on language development, literacy, numeracy, measures of intelligence, general attainment, creativity, fine motor coordination, concentration, self-confidence, emotional sensitivity, social skills, team work, self-discipline, and relaxation' (Hallam 2010: 269). It concludes that music enhances literacy and numeracy skills, self-esteem, self-efficacy and aspirations. Therefore, Hallam concludes, 'there is a strong case for the benefits of active engagement with music throughout the lifespan'. But, she adds:

> Engagement with music can enhance self-perceptions, but only if it provides

[19] Sherraden's (1991) book and subsequent (2005) edited book address the idea of asset-based social policy as a concept rather than discuss specific forms of asset which can benefit people on low incomes. By contrast, the paper by Ronald et al. (2017) focusses on one specific asset, housing.

> positive learning experiences which are rewarding. This means that overall, the individual needs to experience success. This is not to say that there will never be setbacks but they must be balanced by future aspirations which seem achievable and self-belief in attaining them. (Hallam 2010: 281-282).

This statement implies that the impact of music on learning, and thence on individual and social development, should be seen as a two-step process: from past aspirations to motivation to learn and from motivation to learn to skill development, which happens only if the individual 'experiences success'. Dalton, Ghosal and Mani (2016) have argued that lower-income people especially may be so put off by disappointment and lack of ambition as never to seek, or even to be aware of the possibilities of, self-improvement and education, and thus may never acquire, or even seek, the qualities of self-confidence, creativity, and capacity for teamwork and conflict management to which Hallam refers. As they put it (2016:165) put it, 'the poor may lack the capacity to aspire, and policies that strengthen this capacity [might] help them to contest and alter the conditions of their poverty'. Amongst such policies, Dalton et al. explicitly mention Gustavo Abreu's insistence on the provision of free musical education for all Venezuelan children and on enabling them to perform in orchestras (Dalton et al. 2016:179). In the absence of such policies, however, poor people may be caught in a low aspirations – low effort – low income – low aspirations vicious circle.

Our own approach retains Hallam's, and Abreu's, focus on collective music-making as an activity which builds personal capacities, and thereby both human and social capital. However, it seeks to build on that analysis in three ways:

Firstly, it examines the process of learning from music not just in young people but amongst all age groups;

Secondly, it analyses separately the impact of changes in aspirations and participation within musical education;

Thirdly and crucially, it introduces a distributional dimension. We ask not only Hallam's question whether music and music teaching have an impact, but also whether they have a social and redistributive impact and whether and how that impact can be changed by innovations in institutions and policy. At least since Ruskin (1862:15), writing in the mid-nineteenth century, warned that 'precisely in the degree in which any artist possesses original genius…is the increase of certainty that he will have a hard battle to fight' we have been aware of the obstacles to artistic talent, of all kinds, being properly rewarded. And yet with recent changes in school curricula and welfare funding regimes, those obstacles have increased at the bottom end of the income scale, in Britain[20] with a number of commentators warning that the proportion of households below the poverty line taking advantage of state music education has declined and even that music education risks being wiped out in public (non-

[20] In Britain, recent cuts in public spending on music education have been rooted partly in cuts in the part of the welfare (DWP) budget that is devoted to subsidising music education beyond the school-leaving age (Youth Music) and partly in policy changes within the state education system, in particular music becoming, since 2010, no longer a compulsory subject for the English Baccalaureate or EBACC (see Burns 2017).

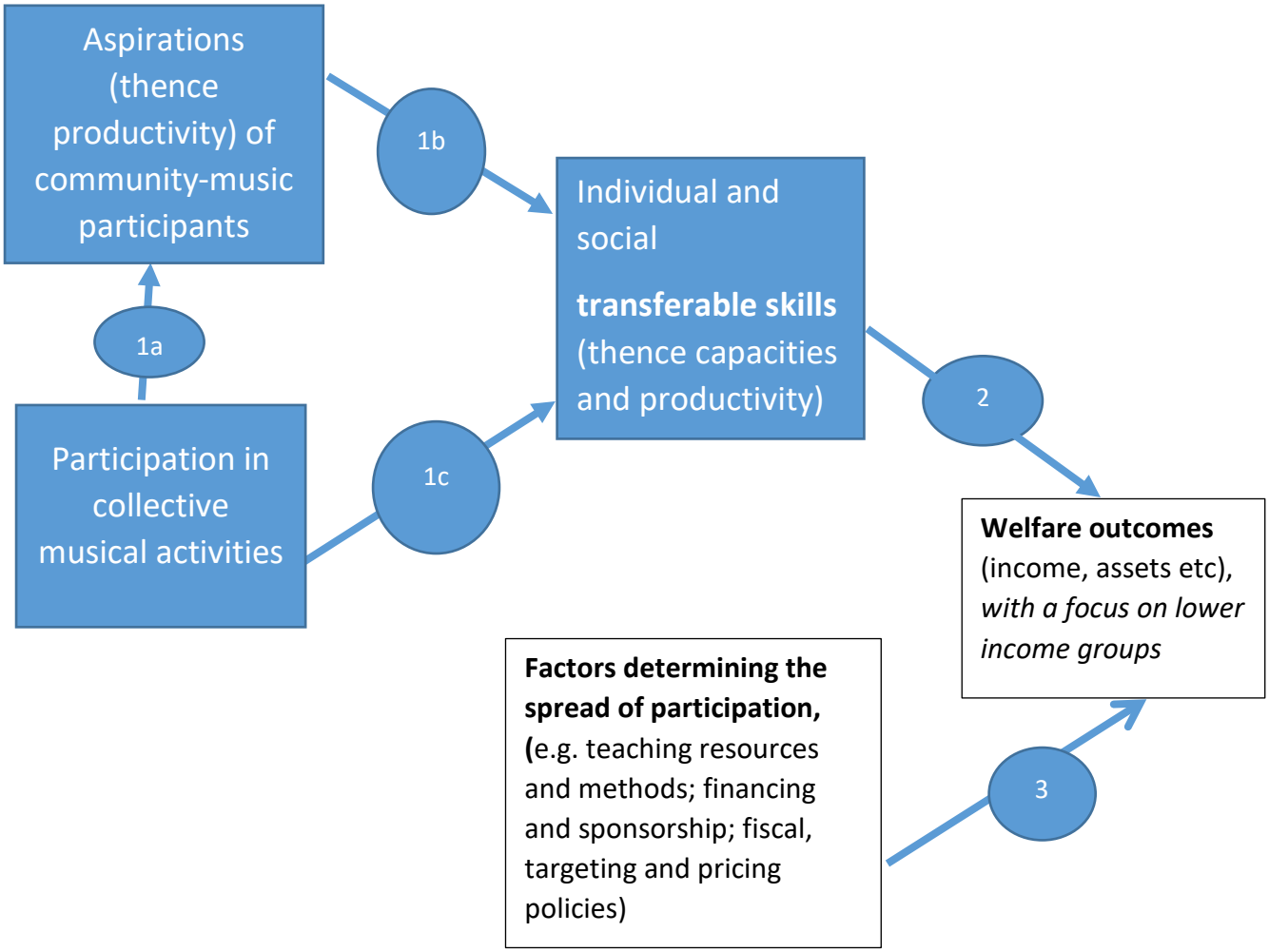
feepaying) secondary schools in the UK (see Griffiths, 2014, Burns, 2017, Gill, 2017, and Lightfoot, 2018) and other countries (see Vampa, 2017 for the Italian case)[21]. Can this situation be changed as part of a coherent social policy, and if so how? This is the main problem which we seek to address.

In Figure 1, we present the story discussed above as a simple process of cause and effect, running from participation in collective musical activities to aspirations to skill development (linkages 1a – 1c) and thence to indices of well-being (linkage 2). At the same time, policies and institutions favouring the inclusion of low-income groups will impact on their welfare (linkage 3).

Figure 1. The 'impact chain' to be estimated

[21]In Italy, however, a number of voluntary agencies including musical ones have recently had to close as a result of reduced central government funding (for example the number of Sistema Italia -funded agencies has fallen from over 90 to 50 between 2016 and 2019). Vampa however notes that social assistance has been able to grow in some regions, especially those where regionalist parties are strong such as Bolzano-South Tirol and those where female employment is buoyant, because of increased budgetary devolution to the regions (Vampa 2017: table 3, p. 284).

Only links 1 (a-c) and 2 are incorporated in our modelling below.



3. Methodology and data

The model to be tested. We now test a key component of the model of Figure 1 by assessing, with the help of both quantitative econometric methods and qualitative open-ended questions, the impact of lagged aspirations and participation in collective music-making activities on two indicators of individual capacities (resilience and internal locus of control) and two indicators of social capacities (extroversion and ability to defuse conflicts), all of which hold out the ability to increase well-being over the long term. However, the analysis which follows considers only the linkages which could be realistically estimated within the short period of 2017-2019, i.e. linkages 1a to 1c portrayed in heavy blue type in the model of Figure 1. No quantitative analysis is attempted here of the impact on other dimensions of long-term well-being (links 2 and 3), but some evidence of those impacts appears in the qualitative evidence presented below.

The combination of linkages (1) and (2) is estimated as:

(1) Change in individual and social capacities (2017-2019) = constant + b_1 [aspirations in 2017] + b_2 [years of exposure to collective music-making] + b_3 [controls] + error term,

where the controls or confounders, in the simple OLS form of the model, are influences on individuals' capacities, such as age, general education and extraneous shocks, which may influence those capacities but are not included in the model of Figure 1. In the simultaneous (3SLS) version of the model, aspirations become endogenous to lagged values of exogenous variables such as age and housing wealth.

The sampled organisations. This equation is estimated on a random sample of the members of two contrasted organisations, one in Britain and one in Italy, representing respectively the community-music and the *El Sistema* musical tradition, and both seeking to provide social protection through music[22]:

SoundLincs originated in 1998 from a request by Lincolnshire County Council to one of us (Heyes) to establish a music service for the entire county. Unlike numerous so-called 'venue-based' community music ensembles which seek to achieve social impact by attracting the clientele to a central base typically in a deprived area, SoundLincs takes the music, typically in the form of small instrumental ensembles and choirs, to the customers. Most of these are adults, including retired people and migrant workers, but SoundLincs' social services also encompass operations in support of youth justice services, children in hospital and afflicted by special education needs and disabilities, and children at risk[23].

The operations of *Sistema Italia,* as we shall refer to it[24] began in 2010 as the result of an initiative by the conductor Claudio Abbado, with financial support being provided by a number of private foundations. The fundamental objective, as in the Venezuelan Sistema, is to fight poverty by using music education to build children's personal confidence and self-worth, and the fundamental organisational unit by which this is built up, as in Venezuela, is the *nucleo* (cell), many of them well-established groups before their absorption into the *Sistema* network, of which there are now around 50 spread across the whole of Italy, in each of which music teaching is organised in association with a variety of training orchestras and choirs (Coppi 2017: chapters 9, 12 and 13). By contrast with community music organisations, however, there exists, as in *El Sistema* of Venezuela, a layered pyramidal structure with a national youth orchestra into which members of the *nuclei* are selected on merit. In addition (Vampa 2017), the Italian *nuclei* are much more dependent on local authority funding, and less dependent on central funding, than their UK counterparts.

Moreover, the activities of the nuclei have evolved over time. As the Venezuelan political crisis has deepened and it has become less possible to depend on support from the

[22] However, a limitation of our analysis is that in common with Hallam (2010:280), we do not interview individuals not involved in active music-making. We rely on the control variables to isolate the impact of the selected independent variables from the 'noise in the system'.

[23] There has also been a recent initiative to take some of these choirs into care homes – this is discussed in more detail in the *Results* section below.

[24] Formally *Sistema delle Orchestre e dei Cori giovanili in Italia.*

Venezuelan organisations which gave them their original inspiration, the Italian *nuclei* have found themselves needing to work out their own organisational models, resulting in particular in a substantial amount of jazz, crossover and film music finding its way into the repertoire alongside orthodox classical and Latin-American music[25]. At the same time, the number of nuclei still open has fallen from over ninety to 50 in the last four years, and alongside the existing Sistema a new and mainly privately-financed organisation, *Musica e Società,* has started operation in 2020 mainly in the (richer) northern half of the country alongside the existing, much more dependent on local government finance, nuclei. Annual membership fees for *Musica e Società* are in the neighbourhood of 3000 euros a year per member (personal communication, Beppe Laudani, 23/07/19) which will exclude a number of low-income participants.

'*Capacities' to be analysed*. The individual and social capacities (aspirations, ability to work in groups and ability to defuse social conflicts) to be analysed here are chosen on the grounds that for each of them there exist, firstly, empirical support for Hallam's claim that a logical connexion exists between the suggested cause, or independent variable, and the suggested effect, or dependent variable, and secondly robustness tests, or methodological reviews, which attest that a reliable measure of the selected independent variable can be delivered – such as the paper by Dalton et al.(2016) reviewing the literature on aspirations, Windle et al. (2011) on resilience measures, and Esqueda Torres(2004) on internal locus of control. In all of the questionnaires, as illustrated in the online Supplementary Materials, separate questions are used for young children under 11, secondary school attenders between 11 and 18, and adults.

The analysis was carried out in the summer and autumn of 2019 on two samples containing a total of 61 participants from the organisations described above: 27 from *SoundLincs* and 34 from a combination of two ensembles within the Italian El Sistema group, *Musica in Crescendo* from San Salvo near Pescara in the south-east of the country and the *Orchestra Diego Valeri* from Campolungo Maggiore near Venice in the north-east.

4. Results

We now put our basic working hypothesis to the test. On the basis of the argument presented above, we surmise that that an improvement in the personal and social capacities of individuals will be driven both by increased exposure to music education and by a prior increase in the aspirations of individuals thus exposed, as per relationships (1a) to (1c) in Figure 1 above. The initial results are as specified in Tables 1a and 1b below.

[25] In the Ofena summer school at which the Italian interviews were conducted, the six pieces rehearsed were a mixture of American folk music (Yankee Doodle), Hollywood hits (Disney Medley and Over the Rainbow), Latin American arrangements (Besame Mucho and Chamambo) and one 'classical' number, Danza Tedesca, which however was a twentieth-century arrangement of music in the spirit of eighteenth-century composers rather than having been composed by one of the latter. It will be clear that this selection is very different from the music played by the Venezuelan nuclei.

Table 1a. The impact of community-music organisations on individual capabilities: OLS regression analysis

Dependent variable: Impact (regression coefficient)	Resilience:					Internal locus of control:				
	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R^2	Instrument and Sargan-value(3SLS)	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R^2	Instrument and Sargan-value(3SLS)
Entire sample (n=61):	-0.59 (1.28)	**0.43***** **(2.89)**	**0.21*** **(1.88)**	0.33		-0.32 (0.68)	**0.32**** **(2.87)**	0.083 (0.81)	0.14	
***SoundLincs* sample (n=27, OLS analysis)**	0.06 (0.15)	0.16 (1.33)	0.12*** (3.49)	0.50		-0.25 (0.46)	0.28** (2.34)	0.011 (0.10)	0.29	
***Musica in Crescendo* and *Orchestra Diego Valeri* sample (n=34, OLS analysis)**	-1.08** (1.97)	0.59*** (3.65)	0.15 (1.08)	0.40		-0.24 (0.46)	0.22** (2.23)	0.088 (0.94)	0.10	

Source: Surveys, June-November 2019 (for questionnaire see online Supplementary Materials).

OLS estimation is with robust standard errors; other independent variables included in the regression as controls are age, education and housing wealth.

Table 1b. The impact of community-music organisations on social capabilities: regression analysis

Dependent variable:	Extroversion:					Capacity for conflict resolution:					Depression:			
Impact (regression coefficient)	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R^2	Instrument and Sargan-value(3SLS)	Constant	Aspiration level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R^2	Instrument and Sargan-value(3SLS)	Con-stant	Aspira-tion level (on scale 1-5)	Exposure to ensemble playing (in years)	R^2
Entire sample (n=61)														
OLS analysis	-0.77 (1.48)	**0.30*** (2.33)**	**0.30** (2.73)**	0.48		-0.53 (1.45)	**0.27*** (2.61)**	**0.29*** (3.07)**	0.27		0.87** (2.14)	0.12 (0.73)	-0.04 (0.35)	0.02
Sound Lincs sample (n=27, OLS analysis)	-1.94 (0.99)	**0.80*** (4.56)**	0.22 (1.27)	0.62		0.19 (0.38)	0.11 (0.79)	0.05 (0.40)	0.05					
***Musica in Crescendo* and *Orchestra Diego Valeri* sample (n=34, OLS analysis)**	0.54 (0.99)	0.064 (0.40)	**0.34** (2.49)**	0.21		-0.25 (0.48)	**0.24* (1.61)**	**0.30** (2.30)**	0.29					

From tables 1a and 1b we find that the individual quality of increased *resilience* and the social qualities of *extroversion* and *capacity for conflict resolution* are significantly associated with, and appear to be caused by[26], longer periods of exposure to community music using OLS estimation methods only. The individual quality of *internal locus of control* is the outlier, being correlated here only with higher aspirations, and then only if OLS estimation is used. The individual quality of (change in feelings of) *depression,* interestingly, is not significantly influenced either by higher aspirations or by longer periods of exposure to music education. There are also some significant differences in response between the two institutions: in the case of capacity for conflict resolution, *Musica in Crescendo* appears to have an advantage over SoundLincs in respect of both aspirations and exposure to ensemble playing (see Table 1b) In the case of resilience the story is more complicated: exposure to ensemble playing had a significant impact on extroversion in *Musica in Crescendo* but none in SoundLincs, whereas with resilience it was the other way round. We will take the story no further here, because our purpose is simply to form an impression of 'what works where', not to make awards to individual institutions. This is not a beauty contest.

Next, we interrelate our statistical (quantitative) findings with the qualitative testimony of survey respondents. Table 2 presents in summary tabular form the impressions of respondents concerning the change in their musical preferences, their individual development and the development of their social relationships which have been brought about by their musical experiences, and places these testimonies alongside the changes in individual capability measures recorded in Tables 1a and 1b. A fuller account of these qualitative responses is provided in the online Supplementary Materials.

[26] In the sense that changes in the independent variables (periods of membership of musical ensembles) occur *before*, and could therefore not have been caused by, the indicators of individual qualities (resilience, locus of control, and social qualities) reported in tables 1a and 1b.

Table 2. Social impact of community-music organisations: qualitative analysis of responses (summary)

Trait analysed: **In relation to:**	**Perceived strengths of organisation**	**Perceived weaknesses of organisation**
Development of individual capacities	Has exposed me to a wider range of musics (SL5, SL22), including classical and film music(SL13, SI17), and enabled me to learn new instruments (SL17) Has increased my determination to overcome my physical difficulties (in particular to get off my crutches and out of a wheelchair) (SL6)	Ineffective, because not orientated to my instrument (SL2) Range of musics provided is too narrow (SL4) and engages mainly with white middle-class people; needs to reach out to younger people and a broader range of ethnic minorities.
Development of social capacities	Has provided: (1)*Social support* which has: -enabled me to fight loneliness and depression(SL3,5,9,11, 13), got me off medication (SL5), 'brought me into the community' by showing that more can be done as a group than on one's own(SL18, SI22) and ˊmade me less timid, so that I now worry less about what others think'(SL11,SL17,SI27); (2) *New skills,* which I can apply, and raise my productivity, in other work settings(SL4,5, SI35) (3) *Awareness* of the predicaments of disadvantaged people, which in particular have helped me to send a calmer response to people in crisis (SL4, 5)	Could broaden its social support activities into care homes (SL13), psychiatric hospitals (SL5, SL6), daycare centres and prisons(SL9)

Note: SL = Sound Lincs (Lincoln); majority of interviews with adults. SI = Sistema Italia (San Salvo and Campolungo Maggiore) ; majority of interviews with young people under 20.

Source: responses to questionnaire surveys, June, July and November 2019. More detailed statements of these responses are provided in the online Supplementary Materials.

The qualitative evidence summarised in table 2 (and in more detail in the online Supplementary Materials) provides a much broader overview of both the merits and the limitations of the 'music as social asset' approach presented above. On the negative side, respondents SL 4, 5, 6 and 13 argue that social support activities needs to be broadened and respondent SL4 argues that range of musics provided needs to develop out of what is perceived as an overly middle-class focus by the provider institution. On the positive side, there is approval (by respondents SI 17 and SL 5, 13, 17 and 22) of the widening of social networks provided by the two organisations, which encouraged many of the beneficiaries to apply their newly-acquired skills within new work settings, which then raise productivity.

This last piece of evidence is particularly important for the argument pursued here because it takes us beyond the establishment of increased transferable skills, which has been our main concern, into the creation of social networks which create new ideas, which increase productivity and well-being in the longer term, represented as linkage 2 in figure 1[27]. This goes beyond the provision of conventional social welfare and is the main justification for treating collective music-making as changing the character of, not just adding to, existing welfare provision.

For example:

-respondents SL6 and SI 35 were encouraged by the support of their fellow ensemble members to apply for and secure new jobs with higher risks but also higher pay attached.

-respondent SL7 wrote a highly acclaimed children's book, which she insisted she only had the confidence to begin because of the experience of contrapuntal singing within her choir and encouragement from individual members. She is now at work on the script for a musical;

-respondent SL4 (a professional carer) became aware of the predicaments of disadvantaged people, which she claims helped her send a calmer response to people in crisis and care for them better:

> 'Music is important to the human soul. I had known before that dementia sufferers could remember tunes they used to hear and sing in their childhood even if they could remember no events from that time; but actually to see people's faces light up in a care home by singing them songs and hymns from their childhood was something else. *Sound Lincs has done the essential first thing by bringing people together* (and supplying the necessary skills). (interview, Lincoln, 26.06.19; emphasis added)

In the last quotation, the respondent illustrates a key function of the sponsor as being to provide what is known as *linking* or *vertical* social capital (Woolcock 1998; Serra 2010; Mosley and Ingham 2016). Vertical social capital consists of social linkages which not only 'bring people together' and enable less confident and well-qualified individuals to access key

[27] Not all social networks achieve these positive impacts. Some, such as the Sicilian mafia and Neapolitan Camorra, exploit and frighten the poor (Serra, 2011; Ferrante, 2011) and obstruct the formation of trust-relationships in the interests of prosperous financial cliques as argued by Putnam (1993). But we are confident, on the evidence of our case-study evidence (Table 2), that the community music institutions known to us, even though some of them certainly had some negative aspects, were not exploitative in this sense.

resources (notably knowledge) which will increase their productivity, but also put the skills of high-income people at the disposal of low-income people, and our qualitative evidence suggests that it is a key resource which both forms of collective music-making analysed here have been able to provide.

We now narrow the focus, and ask what part of the impact of music was captured by lower-income individuals, and the implications of this. This information is provided in table 3. Amongst the sixty-one individuals interviewed, there were eleven, as recorded in table 3, whose households were below the national poverty line in 2019[28] - four in the UK and seven in the Italian sample. A majority of these lower-income participants had aspiration levels in excess of the mean, of which four experienced an increase in resilience and four experienced increases in levels of extroversion - both measures of human capital. Additionally, four lower-income participants (not the same four as had experienced improvements in human capital) achieved increases in 'social skills' (ability to socialise and to arbitrate and resolve conflicts) in excess of the overall sample mean. Often these impacts, especially the social impacts, went beyond the learner's immediate family: we note interviewee SL 5's insistence (see table 2 above) that musical participation had helped her 'send a more calm response to people in crisis'. These findings, we believe, provide substantial evidence of improvement in personal and social capacities induced by collective musical performance *among members of lower income groups*.

[28] Adults, in both the groups (totalling about 35) were invited to provide an estimate of their 2019 post-tax income (which was then equivalised to adjust for the number of people in the household)), and their classification as poor or nonpoor is based on that response. Under-18 respondents were initially classed as poor if all the following were true: household living in rented accommodation; no or only one parent working; no or only one car in the household. This initial impression was then verified through discussion with the students' teachers (and in some cases parents also) who were present at the courses described here.

Table 3 Sound Lincs, *Orchestra Diego Valeri* and *Musica in Crescendo*: lower income participants and others, income and asset progression 2017-2019

Interviewee no.	Age	Current aspiration level (note 1)	**Length of time with ensemble (years)**	**Change in resilience, 2017-19 (note 2)**	**Change in locus of control, 2017-19 (note 3)**	**Change in extroversion 2017-19 (note 4)**	**Change in social skills, 2017-19 (note 5)**	Change in health (note 6)	Change in depression (note 6)
2	63	2	0.5	0	-0.5	-2	3	2	1
5	61	4	3.0	1.5	0.7	1.5	0	0	0
6	51	2.5	3.0	1.0	0	1.0	0	0	2
19	12	3	0.5	1.0	0	1.0	2	0	0
32	13	4	3.0	2.5	0	2.0	2	0	2
35	11	4	4.0	3	2	1.0	3	2	2
36	14	2	1.0	0.5	2	2.0	0	0	2
38	13	2	0.5	0.5	0	0.5	0	0	1
45	10	3.5	2.0	-2.0	0	-1	0	-1	0
50	13	3.0	2.0	1.5	0	1.5	0	0	0
52	73	3.5	2.8	3.5	2	3	1	1	1
Sample mean, higher-income participants	30.2	3.07	**2.92**	**1.62**	**1.01**	**1.73**	**1.0**	0.4	0.95
Sample mean, lower income participants (as listed)	31.4	2.66	**2.20**	**1.04**	**0.43**	**0.71**	**1.17**	0.15	1.23
T-stat for difference between sample means	0.76	1.20	**1.95***	**1.70***	**1.80***	**2.64****	**1.90***	1.17	0.22

Source: interviews, June, July and November 2019. In the cases highlighted in red, the difference between the sample mean for higher-income and lower-income participants is significant at the 10% level or better.

Notes: (1) *Aspirations* (towards higher achievement) are inferred from answers (graded on a 5-point scale) to the following questions: (i) for adults - after school do you expect to go to university, music school, or any other institution of higher education? and (ii) for secondary-school students - 'what training courses have you undertaken over the last two years?'

(2) *Resilience* is inferred from answers to the question 'Where do you place yourself (on a 5-point scale) in relation to the following statements 'I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times……It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens'. (see question 5a in the questionnaire in the online Supplementary Materials).

(3) *Locus of control* is inferred from answers to the question 'Imagine that you have experienced a sudden shock for which you are ill-prepared. What would you do? Answer on a scale from (5): 'Take control of the situation/identify the source of the problem' to '(1) Pray for the problem to go away/hope for a solution to appear'.

(4) *Extroversion/introversion* is inferred from answers to the question 'Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them?

(5) *Conflict resolution/mediation skills* are inferred (in the case of the Sound Lincs group of adults) from answers to the following question:

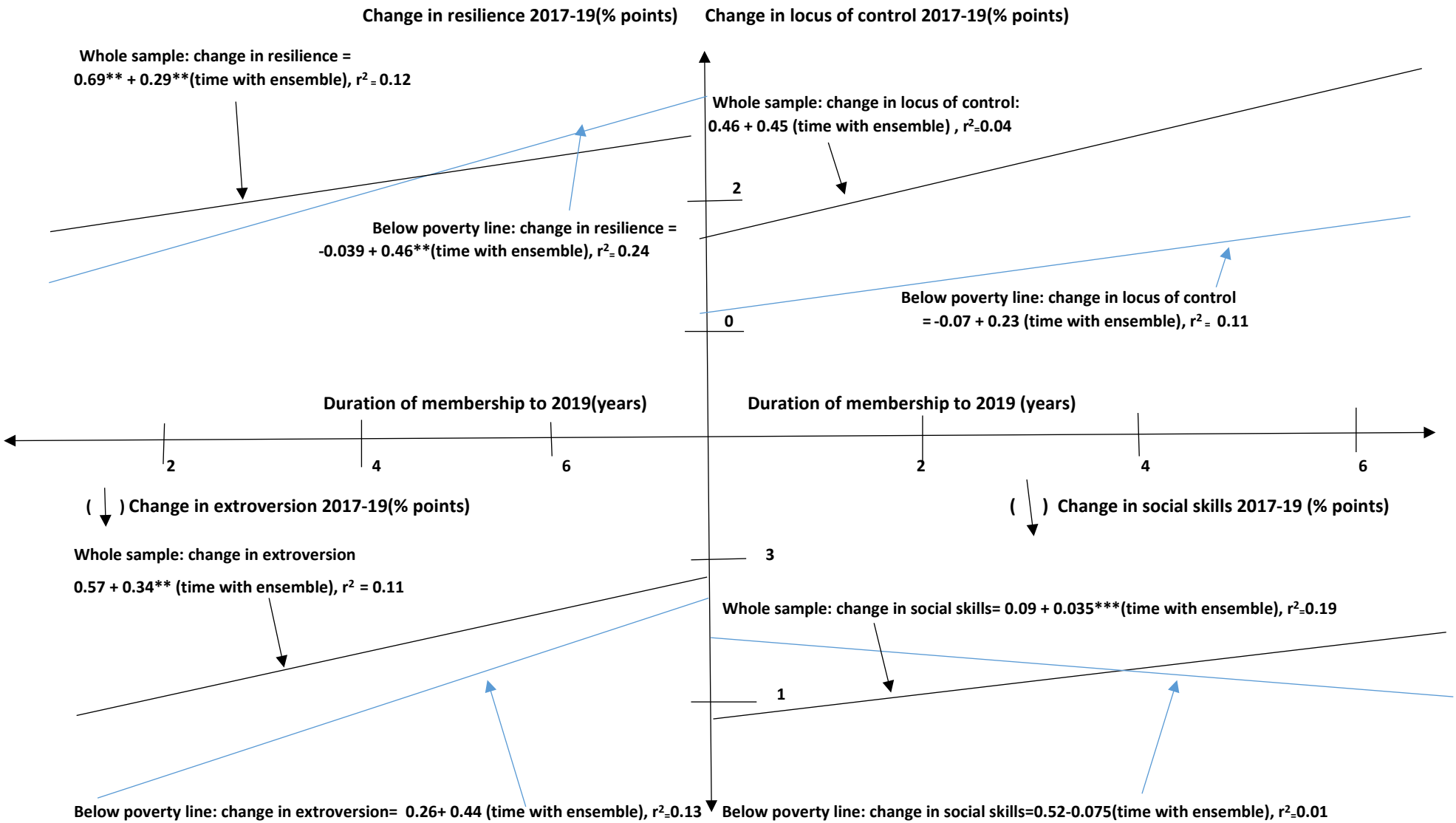
> Imagine that two people whom you know in your workplace (or school, or music group) are in conflict – they look tense and you think they might get angry with one another.
>
> Would you:
> (*score 1*) walk away from the situation, and not get involved
> 1……..
> 2……..
> 3……..
> 4……..
> (*score 5*) try and broker an agreement between the two parties, building on the common ground between them and on how it would hurt your fellow-workers/friends/their nearest and dearest if the disagreement got worse
> (See question 7 in the questionnaire in the online Supplementary Materials)

(6)Both *Health* and *Depression* are inferred from the shortest NHS(UK) questionnaire, the SF-12.

> Changes in health between 2017 and 2019 are inferred from answers to the question 'In general, would you say that your health is: Excellent<…>Poor? (measured on a 5-point scale). Changes in feelings of depression between 2017 and 2019 are inferred from answers to the question 'Have you often felt downhearted and low?' (measured on a 5-point scale).

Indeed, if we do a simple two-variable regression of amount of time spent in musical training against change in capacities for both lower income groups and the entire sample, we find (as shown in Figure 2a) that in respect of two out of the four capacities studied here (resilience and extroversion) the regression line is higher for lower income groups (the coefficient of duration in musical training on change in capacities is greater for low-income groups than it is for the sample as a whole). The overall impact of duration of training on change in capacities for lower income groups, however, although always positive, only exceeds the impact for all groups in the case of resilience, and even then for durations above three years.

Figure 2a. The impact of duration of membership on personal capacities: scatter diagrams

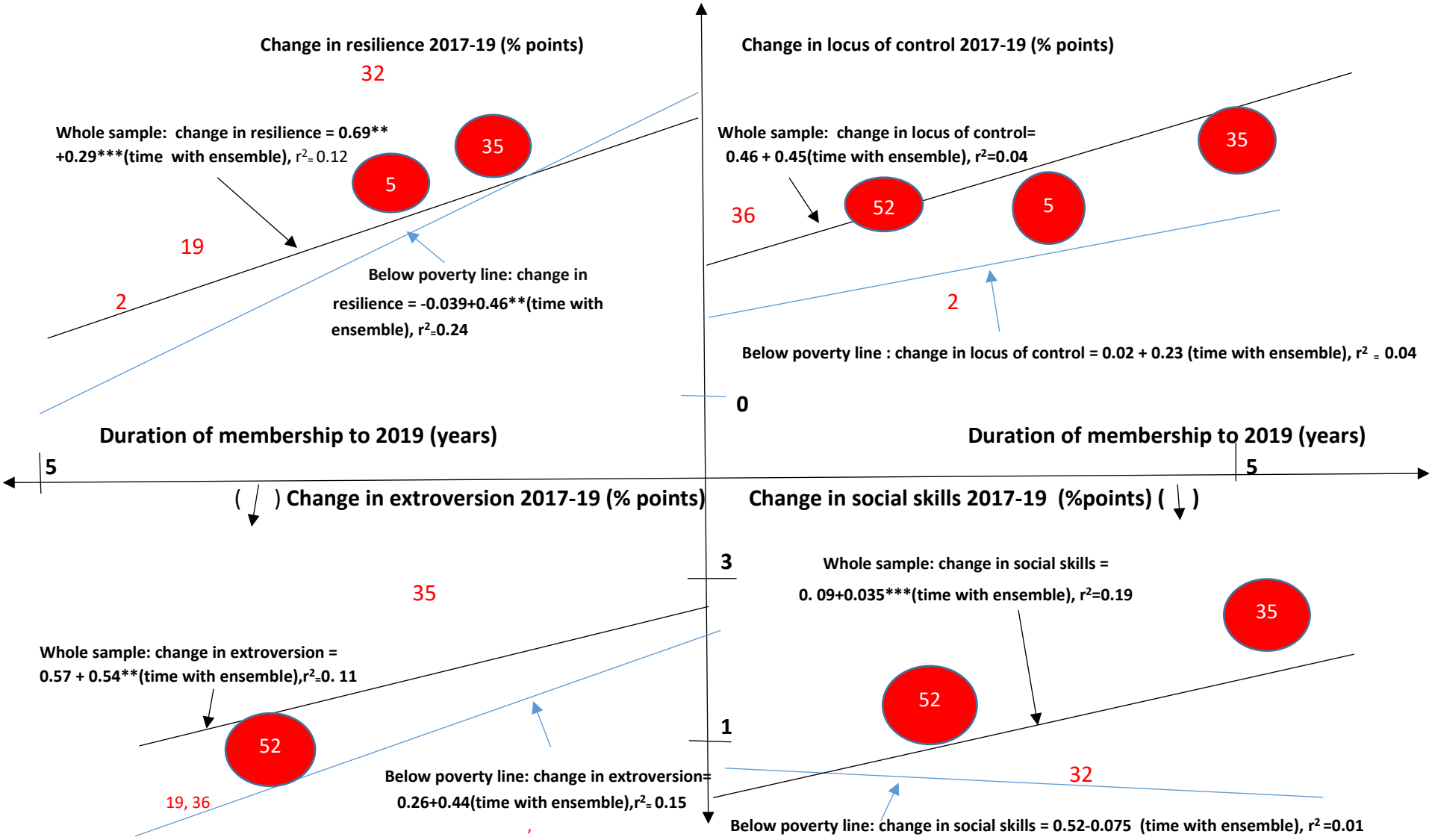


In Figure 2b, we plot the trajectory of individual members of low-income groups on to Figure 2a. We find that in respect of all the personal qualities which we have analysed in this paper (resilience, locus of control, extroversion and social skills), a majority of the 'positive outliers' whose 'performance' improved by more than the average amount have provided testimony which explains why. Respondent 5 (Sound Lincs) found that her experience as a member of the Nettleham choir had 'boosted her and her children's confidence, helped her with her memory, and enabled her to come off medication'; and respondent 35 (*Orchestra Diego Valeri* within Sistema Italia) found that 'the orchestra has changed my life – I used to be reserved and closed within myself but now have no difficulty in making relationships with people'. With respondents Sound Lincs 51 and 52, a couple whom we interviewed together, the case was more complex, because there are more links in the causal chain:

> At the time respondent 52, a euphonium player, joined the Beevor band (two years ago), respondent 51, who had already been in the band two years, was grieving for his wife who had died six months previously. They became friends, not only with each other but also with other members of the band, which became an important resource for them, and with whom they would go for a drink after work. This group then grew into a small informal cluster of brass players which gave charity concerts in public places at Christmas and other times…[interview, respondent 52, 5.11.19]

This is a classic case of a 'vertical' social group (the band) spinning off a smaller social group which then performed a socially integrative function.

Figure 2b. Trajectories of lower-income sample members: scattergram (positive outliers highlighted in red; respondents below the poverty line are indicated in red circles)



5. Summary and conclusion

Using a small sample and covering a short historical period, from mid- 2018 to the present, we have examined the ability of two contrasted musical training and performance institutions to increase individual capacities. Fairly convincingly in the case of individual resilience, extroversion and ability to restrain conflict, and less convincingly in the case of individual locus of control, we discovered that involvement in collective music-making activities had a significant positive influence on the capacities indicated, and thence on well-being. These findings resonate, at the level of one specific form of public expenditure, with those of Hoerisch and Obert, who argue that, at the macro level, 'imperatives related to fiscal policy provide leverage on social capital development' (Hoerisch and Obert 2020:1141). However, they contrast with the argument of Baker (2014, 2017) who correctly draws attention to flaws in Sistema Venezuela's analysis of the level of poverty, but incorrectly implies that, because of these flaws, the entire Sistema model stands condemned. This, we argue, is not the case. The IDB report cited by Baker (2017) simply shows that the average poverty rate for Sistema participants was one-third of the poverty rate of all six to 14-year olds residing in the same states (loc.cit., page 3); but this information is static. It simply compares the *level* of poverty in the Sistema and the non-Sistema samples, not its *rate of change* as would be needed to demonstrate any significant impacts of the Sistema on any index of well-being.

This evidence, small though the sample size is, supports the idea that using collective music-making to help finance welfare provides not just a supplement to household consumption, but also an asset, in the shape of the enhanced individual and social capacities summarised above. Those capacities are supplemented, especially in developing countries, by increased human capital in the shape of education and health (Barrientos 2014, Banerjee 2015), as reported above. At a minimum, these assets are a useful supplement to existing social protection provision. However, certainly in industrialised countries, the asset which those welfare reforms most helped to build was, especially, housing wealth, which then for many turned into a liability at the onset of the 2008 global crisis (Finlayson 2009, Ronald et al 2017). This got the whole idea of asset-based policy a bad name, and underlined the importance of linking social transfer payments not only to assets broadly defined, but to assets which have the ability to reduce inequality and poverty - such as the education and health of people in low-income areas.

The potential merit of the asset created by collective music-making, by contrast with conventional 'asset-based welfare' (e.g. house values, children's savings) we have argued, is firstly, that it is *inspirational* for many participants, second, that it provides a benefit many elements of which are *collective* rather than just personal to the beneficiary, third, that it has the *potential to reduce poverty* (although our own data derive predominantly from higher-income catchments), and finally that it provides an asset in the form of a skill whose yield is *more stable* and less vulnerable to the vagaries of the market than housing or even physical assets such as housing or even or even savings tied to stock market and security market yields such as ISAs (individual savings accounts).

As we have discussed, the benefits of this form of social protection flow through many channels, none of which hitherto have been quantified. Here, we have only taken a small, hesitant step in this direction, with a small sample, namely to define its impact on individual capabilities which may explain part of that well-being and to map the channels through which this impact may flow. We have not sought, at this stage, to measure the ultimate impact of collective music-making on overall indicators of well-being and inclusion. The first need, therefore, is for more comprehensive research over a longer period which can define cause and effect more precisely and validate, or otherwise, the findings presented here. But even these findings, we argue, can provide pointers to how the benefits of music education and performance can usefully complement the social services currently provided, whether through conventional state welfare systems or through cash transfers (Barrientos 2014, Bastagli et al 2019). For these reasons we commend it as a means of enabling welfare providers (both in the public and in the voluntary sector) to diversify their portfolios and modes of operation.

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Appendix 1. Summary statistics for the sample

All variables listed are measured on a standard 1-5 scale, except duration within the orchestra or choir (row 2)

Variable	Observations	Mean	Standard deviation	Minimum value	Maximum value
Aspirations in 2017	61	2.99	1.19	0	4.5
Time in orchestra or choir (years)	61	2.78	1.31	0.5	6
Resilience in 2019	61	3.76	0.95	1.5	5
Change in resilience 2017-2019	61	1.50	1.11	-2	3.5
Depression in 2019	61	3.79	0.92	1	5
Change in depression	60	1.06	1.17	-2	4
Social skills in 2019	60	3.54	1.06	1	5
Change in social skills	61	1.08	1.08	-2	4
Health in 2019	59	4	0.84	2	5
Change in health	59	0.18	0.62	-1	2
Internal locus of control in 2019	61	3.89	0.91	1	5
Change in internal locus of control	61	0.90	1.05	-1	3.1
Extroversion in 2019	61	3.85	1.07	0	5
Change in extroversion	61	1.53	1.33	-2	5

Appendix 2. Qualitative testimonies, in relation to measured change in interviewee 'capabilities'

Responses from lower-income participants (below the UK/Italian poverty line) are highlighted in red

Interviewee	Perceived change in musical preferences	Interviewee comments on individual development	Interviewee comments on social development	Critical comments and suggestions for improvement	Measures of progress (from table 1a and 1b:	
					Change in resilience 2017-2019 (sample mean = 1.31)	Change in extroversion (sample mean= 1.35)
Sound Lincs 2		Aspects of my experience have been frustrating – even negative – I find that (the Stringing Nettles teacher) talks too much and listens too little. Most music we play is geared towards the ukulele – this constrains what I as an (electric) guitarist can play.	Being with this group has made me more sociable [even though] they are more middle class than me		**0**	**-2**
Sound Lincs 3		My husband died last year – it gets me out, forces me to be with other people and helps me to fight loneliness	I am naturally a control freak and very anti-social – music provides an antidote to that. Although I am sure that I would manage faced with any problem, I do suffer from anxiety.		**2.5**	**-1**

Sound Lincs 4		(Being in Stringing Nettles) has enhanced my life and work – by teaching me new skills and expanding my social life. Sound Lincs has given us the confidence to all play together from a zero base; we have tried desperately to 'get people to join the tennis club but not blast them off the court'	Music is important to the human soul. I had known before that dementia sufferers could remember tunes they used to sing in their childhood even if they could remember no events from that time; but to actually see people's faces light up in a care home by singing them songs and hymns from their childhood was something else. Sound Lincs has done the essential first thing by bringing people together (and supplying the skills).	But I would welcome a bigger range of artistic activities…maybe an orthodox orchestra?	**1.5**	**0**
Sound Lincs 5	[The Stringing Nettles teacher] has extended the range of musics beyond what we previously knew,and has taught me techniques I didn't know before.	Before I joined the group I felt quite low, as if my dreams and passions had all vanished. Coming back into the class with really nice people has sparked that up. It has boosted my confidence and my children's, helped me with my memory, and I have come off medication. It has	Stringing Nettles (SN) has helped me send a more calm response to people in crisis. I have become more sociable and extroverted and SN has helped increase my self-esteem.	Sound Lincs could expand out of its work in care homes, into mental health (especially in marginalised schools) and physiotherapy because it loosens up your body.	**1.5**	**1.5**

		brought back what I loved.				
Sound Lincs 6	Initially my main preferences were in pop music; with time, they have evolved towards older music (traditional songs such as sea shanties, South African choral music).	I am wheelchair-bound [but] it has helped me out of a low place because it is the one thing you have to come out of your house to do.	I am determined to get up and about on crutches and out of my wheel chair.	The choir could go into nursing homes; also schools, and galas and fetes. Also they could improve their publicity – they don't seem to have anything on the internet – I only found out about the choir through a leaflet someone had left in the village shop.	**1**	**1**
Sound Lincs 7		It has widened my musical interests – we sing things we have never heard of before, many of them from musicals. I wouldn't miss it for the world, it has been fantastic.		I have done things that I have never achieved before, including publishing a children's book. I lead a children's book in another church, write musicals for it, and have sponsored two children in a partner church in Uganda. I was creative before I joined this choir but have been able to be more so because Liz is so good at organising things.	**1**	**1**
Sound Lincs 9	It has made me more interested in music of all sorts – some African, some Beatles, some from musicals	I feel so uplifted and so good when I finish a rehearsal. It makes you feel worth something – you feel on top of the world and can't		More publicity through radio/posters/newspapers; New social support activities – could operate in children's centres, day care centres, hospitals, prisons even. Could form a	**2**	**0**

		wait for next week. It has helped me incredibly with the depression and anxiety that I used to suffer from.		community choir within the prison ('it would calm them down')		
Sound Lincs 11	Now, we do especially African music, some rounds and 60s music	The impact on me has been tremendous: I started singing after my marriage broke down. It has provided me with a release – to park all my troubles at the door – it gives you a feelgood factor. (Nobody looks at you accusingly if you are not in tune.)	I have made some tremendous friendships. I would be lost without the choir and cannot contemplate not being in it…The people and the music have made me more confident and sure of myself. Before, I would struggle to go to some of the singing events. But now, because everyone encourages you, I feel better able to cope – I feel everyone is behind me.	Sound Lincs is not very public-facing – they posted a job advert on Facebook but otherwise I would never have heard of them.	**0.5**	**2**
Sound Lincs 13	{ I was told at first that I couldn't sing, but gradually discovered that I could.) Originally, I preferred more popular music from when I was younger (The Eagles, Fleetwood Mac etc). Now [under Liz's influence] I have moved onto African music and slave songs, even medieval stuff.	It has been absolutely transformational. I have suffered from depression for years. It is good for my soul: of all the things I do, this is my favourite – I am walking on air when I leave, the sense [of catharsis] is so overwhelming. She makes us believe		There is a perception that (Sound Lincs 13) engages mainly with white, middle class, middle-aged to elderly people but needs to reach out to younger and broader ethnic groups. Could it be extended somehow to groups of people with dementia groups and others with mobility problems?	**2**	**2**

		and everyone is valued for their contribution.				
Sound Lincs 17(51)	[What persuaded me to become a brass player] was the look of utter concentration on the face of the little girl [who plays the tuba in the Beevor Band] – she really looks to be in a different world	[When my wife died 3 years ago] learning about the band gave me an incentive to get into the community.	{My partner says] 'When you came into the band, you were very quiet, but now….'		**2**	**2**
Sound Lincs 18(52)		For two years (after I lost my husband) I had no bounce; without it I probably wouldn't have recovered at all.	(Playing with the band) has got me out of my house and into the community.		**3.5**	**3**
Sound Lincs 19(53)		(Playing with the band) enabled me to do something I have wanted to do since childhood and to feel 'now I can do this'.			**2**	**0**
Sound Lincs 22(56)	It has enlarged my range of musical possibilities and boosted my self-confidence.	I have discovered that there is much more to life than going to uni; everything is NOT predestined.			**1**	**2**
Musica in Crescendo/Orchestra	Playing with *Musica in Crescendo* opened my eyes to classical music,	I am constantly getting to know new people and it	I am a highly sociable person and keen to help people I don't know. The orchestra has definitely		**1**	**3**

Diego Valeri (MIC/ODV) 17	even if I don't listen to it all that much. I am learning a lot about classical composers.	is great to work in a group and try out alternative approaches to music and combine them into a common message.	helped me to become more sociable.			
MIC/ODV 18	Several years ago I started to play percussion – a group of people already in the orchestra persuaded me in. I now play more classical and film music		I have found that I can make relationships with people of different ages, older and younger. I gives me a feeling of responsibility. It has also created an additional possible employment for me. Previously I was at uni studying maths (geometry); now I might switch to music		**1**	**2**
MIC/ODV 22			What I have learned is – that more can be done through a group than on one's own; and it is wonderful to convert work into something enjoyable.	Some people talk too much and disturb the music – they should be restrained.	**2.5**	**2.5**
MIC/ODV 27			I am much less timid: I can bounce back more easily from difficult moments. I can dedicate myself to my passions more thoroughly, and worry less about what others think.		**2.5**	**2.5**
MIC/ODV35	Previously, mainly American rock music.	New friendships, new encounters, working as a team (except for three trouble makers who interrupt the lessons). To be able to play out of doors	The orchestra has changed my life – I used to be reserved and closed within myself and now I am sociable and able to make relationships with people. People who used to bully me are envious and I can live more happily		**2**	**4**

		(is an especial pleasure).	because I am stronger and more sociable.			
MIC/ODV 41		I have gained a shared passion for music and new experiences. Formerly I thought orchestras were an old people's thing (*cosa da vecchi*) but not now.	Two years ago I was more closed up in myself, now I have got to know new people which has made me more open. Now everything is in second place relative to the orchestra…Through it I have made many new friends but also stayed in contact with people who have left the orchestra.			
Sound Lincs 52	Towards brass band music, but not away from anything else		When I joined the Beevor band two years ago, my friend X, who had been in the band two years, was grieving for his wife who had died six months previously. We became friends, not only with each other but with three other members of the band, with whom we would go for a drink after work. This group then grew into a small informal cluster of brass players which gave charity concerts in public places at Christmas and other times. This then generated other social activities such as campaigning to keep the local hospital going.			

Appendix 3. Questionnaire used for survey (English-language version)

Preamble: Hello. My name is Paul Mosley and I work as a professor at the University of Sheffield.

We are doing a survey to try and find out what (*name of organisation)* has achieved in this area and your own views about how it could be made more effective. The survey will take about half an hour at most.

Your answers will be kept confidential, and will not be revealed to (name of organisation) or any other third party. Participation is completely voluntary, and if we should come to any question you don't want to answer, just let me know and I will go to the next question; or you can stop the interview at any time. However, we hope that you will participate in this discussion since your views are important.

Note: Name (*nb not compulsory*)……..

Gender……

Age……

Current occupation……..

Occupation two years ago (i.e. in 2017)……..

Questions for individual musicians participating in the survey, and in some cases their families	Notes and remarks
Background	
1.(a)How did you became involved in the activities of (*enter name of organisation)* How long have you been a member? **(b)**Do you play an instrument? Do you do this as part of the group's activities, or simply sing in the choir? **2.(a)** What kind of music do you most like? **(b)**Has the group you are involved in programme had a role in influencing what kind of music you like?	

3. (a) Please can you describe what kind of music you perform in your group? **(b)**How has being in the group changed your life and your work? *(use this question as a springboard for the remaining questions)*	
Aspirations **4(a)*Children under 13*** What do you want to do when you grow up? ***Young people 13-18*** Once you are 18, do you expect to go to university (or follow any other kind of higher education)? ***People over 18*** **4(b)**During the last two years, what educational courses have you attended? **4(c)** Over the next two years, do you have a plan for what you would like to achieve, either through your activities with [El Sistema/ Sound Lincs} or otherwise?	From Khattab(2017) and Flouri and Panourgia(2012)
5a.Transferable skills: resilience Please say whether the following statements apply to you (on a 5-point scale from 5, completely agree to 1, completely disagree): (score 5) I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times……. ……4…… ……3……. ……2……. (score 1) It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens	From Brief Resilience Scale (Smith et al 2008; commended as robust by Windle et al 2011); some questions inserted from Deakin Coping Scale (Moore 2003)

Now say what your score would have been two years ago (in 2017): (score 5) I tend to bounce back quickly after hard times…….. ……4…… ……3……. ……2……. (score 1) It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens Do you think being in the programme has helped make you more resilient/better able to withstand shocks? *(could prompt social support/relevant knowledge/leadership qualities…..*) **5b.Transferable skills: internal locus of control** Imagine that you have experienced a sudden shock. What would you do? Answer on a scale from: (score 5)Take control of the situation/identify the source of the problem (rational solution) 4 …… 3…… 2…… (score 1) pray for it to go away/hope for a solution to appear (panic/dump on others/ emotional 'solution' *Now say what your score would have been two years ago had such a crisis happened to you then (in 2017):* (score 5) I would take control of the situation…….. ……4…… ……3……. ……2……. (score 1) It is hard for me to snap back when something bad happens	

6.Transferable skills: social skills Do you see yourself as an outgoing person, willing to reach out to people you do not know well in order to make deals with them or establish a friendly relationship with them? (estimate what your score would have been in both 2019 and in 2017) (score 5) Very proactive and outgoing ……4…… …… 3…… ……2…… (score 1) Reticent and not at all outgoing What social groups do you belong to?	The study by Esqueda Torres (2004) is one of the few Venezuelan studies conducted independently of *El Sistema*
7. Transferable skills: conflict management *Ask in relation to now and 2 years ago* Imagine that two people whom you know in your workplace (or school, or music group) are in conflict – they look tense and you think they might get angry with one another. Would you: (score 1)walk away from the situation, and not get involved 1…….. 2…….. 3…….. 4…….. (score 5) try and broker an agreement between the two parties, building on the common ground between them and on how it would hurt your fellow-workers/friends/their nearest and dearest if the disagreement got worse Occupation two years ago (i.e. in 2017)……	Public Health England (2017); see also Msila(2015), Brandon and Robertson(2007)